

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

Volume 35

APRIL, 1945

Number 4

Limitations to Social Effectiveness of the Church

WALTER GEORGE MUELDER¹

The social effectiveness of the Church may not be taken for granted. Even in churches whose ministerial leadership is thoroughly grounded in the social gospel one seldom finds the congregation trained and organized in prophetic activity. Indeed, the Church has lost the primary initiative of guiding social change. The gospel of Jesus Christ may be sufficient for all needs, but the Body of Christ is obviously not the functioning center of contemporary history. The Church sometimes modifies for the better certain social movements, but it seldom dominates or determines the major expressions of social purpose. There is some consolation in this situation to be derived from the thought that socially progressive movements of a secular type borrow heavily from the treasury of spiritual capital which the historic Church has conserved. But there is little consolation to be derived from the thought that the dominant social purposes of the progressive movements are less and less grounded in religious considerations.

It is the thesis of this article that the social responsibility of the Church calls for a reconception and reorganization of the social energy of the churches. If the "world is too strong for a divided Church," the churches must organize to meet the problem in a genuinely ecumenical way.

For the purposes of this discussion it is assumed that on the conceptual level we know what a Christian social order in its broad outlines would be like. A common core of principles which reflect personalistic and communitarian values has evolved in almost all of the major denominations, certainly in the ecumenical conferences. This complex of attitudes, values, and principles is here taken for granted. The "social gospel" is far from finished or adequately formulated, but the limitations to effective social action which are here discussed arise from a different group of sources. Ultimately, they may have some significant relation to basic principles. Purpose is the basic social category. Unless the churches can canalize Christian wills in terms of effective purposes, the Christian ethic will be largely an irrelevance. Possession of eternal truth even about right social goals, the ideal Christian society, avails little unless the body of social will is temporally relevant. The Christian community needs to examine itself critically in terms of its way of going to work.

Limitations imposed from without

A few of the general limitations on effective social action arise from the present state of social process outside the Church.

First, *there is the acceleration of social change*: Events are taking place so rapidly today on so vast a scale and in the fundamental layers of society, that any institution is hard put to be effectively up with the times. Only a movement which is relevant to central social purposes can expect

to be in the vanguard. Only a movement which is qualified to anticipate social changes can guide them.

Secondly, *there is the centralized character of directed social change*. The period in which we have been living, the era before us, is marked by growing centralization, collectivization, and concentration of power. Church action is and will be largely circumscribed by groups and institutions which move in a mass manner. Under present circumstances the individual Christian characteristically feels impotent in the face of the great streams of social energy which engulf him daily.

Thirdly, *there is the growth of state control* with its accompanying value-attitudes in the form of nationalism and patriotism. These are two of the greatest challenges to an ecumenical loyalty and to an ecumenical social ethic. To what extent can the Church effectively debunk the unethical prestige of sovereignty? To what extent can the Church replace it with an effective world loyalty? That is a problem of overcoming one of the greatest limitations to effective Christian action. It is doubtful that the Church can wean the people from loyalty to the nation until there is brought into existence a world organization worthy of dominant earthly respect.

Fourthly, *there is the power of pressure groups* which are so crucially influential in government. Social control by lobbies and other instruments of pressure is gradually and steadily modifying the nature of the democratic process. Big business, big labor, big farmers, and the like, operate without much counter-balance from a pressure group for the general welfare. Is it possible for the Church to develop a general welfare movement so powerful that it can be politically and economically effective and so firmly in the vanguard of social change as to take the initiative?

Limitations in the Church as an institution

One of the basic questions is whether the Church is not by nature so accommodated to the status quo as to preclude effective action on necessary reform measures. The answer seems to be that the Church membership as a whole is not at present capable of taking forward steps much in advance of the population as a whole. The truly committed social action group is a loyal "remnant." Sometimes this minority segment is only one person, the minister. The position of the whole Church is bound to be several long steps behind the "remnant." Action projected by the leadership of the churches for the total worshipping community is inevitably bound to be slowed down to the snail's pace of the majority.

Another limitation to effective social action is that the social action is frequently restricted to work within the four walls of the local church. Preaching and education often presuppose that the laity will make the appropriate applications of highly idealized propositions to daily decisions in market, office, and factory. Few churches actually serve the other social groups except in this indirect way. When the

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church does reach out into the community to play its part in resolving social conflict, it usually does so on the level of "conciliation." The Church is badly diseased by the ideology of social harmony. Reconciliation is undoubtedly a Christian fundamental, but few recognize how radical this philosophy really is. Conciliation between Big Business and Big Labor may still result in an exploitation of the common man. True conciliation finds its unity in the common ground of non-exploitation and service.

A further limiting factor within the Church arises from an over-emphasis accorded to the role of the pulpit. The "social gospel" has power which often explodes in the chancel. Many ministers substitute preaching for social engineering and education. Their own feelings are relieved by sermons which "slay and flay." Having thus delivered themselves of the burden of social conscience, they retreat to the study to observe the progress of the revolution which they have proclaimed.

Other limitations to effective action may be recognized through an analysis of concrete situations which the writer has had the privilege to study.

An inductive appraisal of situations

Here are eight distinct situations where action of different types was called for and in which some characteristic limitations have been noted:

(1) Detroit. This city is not lacking in good Christian leaders. Some of the finest prophetic spirits are to be found there. Yet, when the race riots broke out, the churches were unprepared to act efficiently. Christian forces had lost the initiative. The program of constructive action which Church leaders finally adopted was taken over from secular groups and merely approved. The Social Creed of the Methodist Church and the Federal Council dates back to official action taken almost forty years ago. In a crisis the leadership program was provided by a group less than ten years old. Is the Church relegated to the "Amen corner"? City-wide Christian organization and fellowship is called for.

(2) In Los Angeles, community action to avoid race riots was stimulated by the awful experiences which Detroit suffered; but not until she herself had also experienced open social conflict. In the development of the Council for Civic Unity which brings one hundred fifty organizations together for the purpose of building community solidarity the unifying personality and symbol has been the Executive Secretary of the Church Federation. By taking the leadership vigorously and helping to formulate a program for unity, Dr. Farnham and those close to him avoided two things. They avoided the capture of the movement by extremist elements and they avoided partisanship. Nothing has brought more spiritual prestige to the Church in Los Angeles than its initiative in a time of crisis. Had the leadership waited to see how the Council would go before participating responsibly, the historical opportunity would have gone by. The Church helped turn the tide.

At the same time, on its own level the Church Federation faces a long and painful process of local church education with respect to racial restrictive covenants and the like, of which more will be said below.

(3) Although the community as a whole has effective instruments set up to deal with racial matters, the churches in Los Angeles are still locally quite impotent. For the most part the social action is still on the ministerial level. There are few going committees in the different congregations. The Commission on Race Relations of the Church Federation has invited every local church to set up a committee which would be directly related to the Commission. Only two or three out of three hundred fifty have done so. Consequently, there is no structural contact among the interested and committed persons on the lay level. Enlightened laymen do not know each other across church lines. Neither are they related to the Commission. The denominational structure for social action is ineffective since it is largely a matter of annual meetings, reports, and resolutions. To be adequate

in urban centers the social action of the local church must be directly related to the ecumenical Church both through the clergy and the laity.

(4) Only functioning organization creates functioning loyalty. So long as the rank and file of members function exclusively through denominational channels it is next to impossible to get a mass demonstration of ecumenical conviction. It is notorious that one denomination by promoting a mass meeting can get a larger turn-out than an appeal made through all the churches but sponsored by the ecumenical instrument. In 1944 a committee representing the churches and some eight peace societies, like the Committee to Study the Organization of the Peace, sponsored an inter-faith mass meeting on "The Pattern for Peace." While the timing of the meeting was not perfect, and while the secular sponsorship may have deterred others, the chief reason for the small crowd which attended was the lack of vital contact between the over-all group and the local congregation.

(5) The same kind of experience was had this spring when a city-wide Committee to Postpone Peacetime Conscription united with labor unions and the Church to hold a mass meeting. One suspects that the promotion materials coming to the desk of the over-worked minister seldom find their way to a local lay committee which could do the necessary job, if, indeed such a committee exists.

(6) Recently the Methodist Federation for Social Service sent out urgent messages calling for action immediately. The national office was on the job, but there was no local organ to take official action. The executive committee of the Conference Federation could not be called together, so nothing concerted was done. Only individual actions resulted. There exists in Los Angeles a breakfast club of socially alert Methodist ministers, but as a club they are not officially members of the Federation. They are responsible only to themselves. Moreover, laymen are conspicuous by their absence. Undoubtedly the breakfast club has some significance, but it is limited in effectiveness at the crucial points of national action and lay participation.

(7) Another kind of limitation to effective social action may be noted when specialization is not related to commensurate integration. For every step in the process of delegated or specialized action there must be a step in the direction of integration, lest there be one-sided or distorted consequences. For example, a church committee on the family has been known to recommend certain action to curb juvenile delinquency, but in its enthusiasm failed to obtain the opinion of experts in social welfare whose general policies run counter to the proposal of the sub-committee. This failure to integrate detailed recommendations with over-all philosophy and policy may lead to activism of the self-defeating type.

(8) As a final situation we may select the Cleveland Conference because it has been called one of the most significant ecumenical action conferences ever held. This is probably a fair estimate. Yet it had several inherent limitations which I shall simply list. Some have said that it struck the prophetic middle ground between expediency and perfectionism. Cleveland was geared not to the action of the "remnant" in each church but to the mass acceptance of the whole body of Protestant members. This limited its venturesomeness, while it conserved its mass appeal. Had it not been for the "perfectionist remnant" the activism of its central leadership would have committed it to more expediency than finally prevailed. Activism is not itself prophetic.

Cleveland exposed the wide gulf that exists between clergy and laity and the consequent need to bring the latter into the self-educational process of formulating the Christian faith in concrete ethical terms.

The uneven quality of the work done at Cleveland does not appear in the final published draft which was prepared by expert hands. But anyone in attendance could have noted how the discussion lagged or bogged down when the topics shifted from theological and ethical generalization to

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Current Fascist Developments in U.S. A.

HARRY F. WARD

We are now entering the second stage of the conflict between democracy and fascism. As victory overseas comes into sight our own fascist forces—our anti-democratic, imperialist tendencies—take the offensive on the home front. Because the two-pronged tap root of fascism is the economic inadequacy and the anti-democratic nature of monopoly capitalism, and because the war has made ours the strongest capitalist economy in the world, it is here that the final battle against fascism has to be fought. For the same reasons our inherent fascist tendencies, some of them checked by the war and others stimulated, have not yet reached their full development. Lest that stage finds us unprepared, now is the time to measure their strength and plan their defeat.

Because we got into the fighting by way of Pearl Harbor instead of through increasing intervention in Europe we were saved the discord and the militaristic repression that would otherwise have appeared. There has been much less use of the Espionage Act against freedom of speech and press than in the last war. The group sedition trial at Washington was a demonstration of the strength of our democratic spirit and of a weakness in our democratic method. It covered a wide sampling of our fascist propaganda organizations and publications, from Elizabeth Dilling on the lunatic fringe to Lawrence Dennis of the highbrow brain trust. The omission of Coughlin from the group, like our Spanish policy, revealed the pressure strength of clerical fascism. Renewed or not, this trial undoubtedly ended the first phase of our fascist development, the attempt to form organizations based on Nazism. There is now no mass appeal in propaganda from that source. From now on our fascist movement goes native.

During the war a number of small movements have appeared expressing our native fascist tendencies. Three samples will be typical. The "White Supremacy League" in the deep South voices our own racism. Its propaganda is being checked by the educational work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the gaining strength in Southern states of the campaign to remove the poll tax, our own device to enable fascist control of the majority by a minority. "The Christian Americans" are attempting to kill the labor movement by state legislation but are losing out, and will lose out, in the courts. Much more serious is the determination of big employers to take away the recent gains of labor revealed by the attack of the representative of the Detroit Automotive Council upon labor-management councils in the hearings before a committee of the Senate. "Spiritual Mobilization, Incorporated," directed by James W. Fifield, Jr., D.D., of Los Angeles, is an example of the more indirect attempts of the fascist-minded section of big business to stop democratic advance by means of a smoke-screen propaganda ostensibly opposed to "statism"—variously denominated, and spelled—"pagan statism," "pagan stateism," and "leftist, stateistic influence." Dr. Fifield's motto, "Why worry about money?" has abundantly justified itself. Speaking on one day in 1944 in New York before the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers he came away (according to the *New York Post*) with \$50,000. According to a catechism of the movement entitled "What is this Spiritual Mobilization?" this corporation in the single year 1941 through its travelling representatives, city chairmen, and state directors "signed two million persons to its Basic Freedoms Pledge." The director has been equally successful in enrolling, as sponsors of his movement, clergymen and educators and "selected business men." One wonders whether some of them may not at least occasionally have misgivings about a movement presuming to give ethical leadership to the churches which is slanted against every kind of national assumption of social responsibility, has never a word to say

about solution of problems of unemployment or of racial discrimination and vigorously opposes "socialized medicine."

No attempt to draw together the various groups of the above types has yet appeared, though interviewers have had hints that it is being considered by the inner circle of the former America First movement whose plans to form a party of the fascist type were unknown to the rank and file and halted by the war. The time for that will be if and when economic breakdown creates the emotional atmosphere in which fascist deceptions can win mass support. At present the bi-partisan reactionary coalition at Washington is taking the place of a fascist party. Because there are here no anti-capitalist parties strong enough to win elections our reaction takes the form of bi-partisan opposition to democratic attempts to save capitalism from disaster by regulation, reform, and more provisions for social well being. So instead of the Gestapo we have inquisition by Congressional Committees, attempts to bar people from public service for progressive views, and unconstitutional questions about their religion. Thus our democracy, instead of being threatened with overthrow by force and violence is in danger of being subverted by its professed defenders.

The war has not produced the dictatorship feared by our liberals and now charged by our most emotional reactionaries. Our democracy has proved itself strong enough to control the extraordinary grants of executive power necessary to defeat the Axis. They are being subject to healthy, as well as unwarranted, criticism and will continue on their way back to their source unless reaction wins the next presidential election. Our danger now is from the attempt of our anti-democratic forces to extend the legislative power to dictation of administration of appropriations and the raising of anti-democratic tests for appointments. The outcry against "bureaucracy" has used a danger inherent in the most democratic collective action to limit decentralized democratic developments like TVA and the grass roots planning committees of the Department of Agriculture.

The war has brought a strengthening of several fascist characteristics and also awareness of their danger, with action to check them. Anti-semitism is not merely a technique of Nazism as it was of Czarism, it is basically anti-democratic in nature because it denies equality of rights and privileges. As a result of previous propaganda and the emotional insecurity created by the war it has ripened into action. There have been attacks on Jewish children and youth, desecration of synagogues and cemeteries in a number of cities. In the presidential campaign the anti-Semitic appeal was used against Hillman. Consequently Protestantism has been awakened to a sense of responsibility and aroused to action. But its education and its support of anti-discrimination legislation will be checkmated unless it helps effectively to prevent the economic breakdown which would set anti-semitic emotions aflame.

Fascism, when it comes to power, always destroys the labor movement, and anti-labor attitudes are feeders of fascism, because they oppose the beginnings of democracy in industry and strengthen the monopolistic economy which seeks the weakening of political democracy in order to protect its power and privilege. A labor press survey of our metropolitan papers classifies over 90 per cent of them as anti-labor in their editorials and slanting of the news. The evident effort of a part of these papers to divide the boys abroad from the workers at home for post-war purposes caused the Army chiefs to issue a special statement to the fighting forces disproving the common lies told about our war workers. In the CIO we have the makings of a democratic, educational, socially progressive, politically powerful labor movement, whose influence is regenerating the A. F. of L. As the recent attempt to deprive its members of the right to

political action showed, we may expect a more powerful anti-labor drive than we met after the last war. What is at stake this time is not the right to organize but the right to participate in planning for full production and employment. Like the churches and the political parties, organized labor has to defeat fascist tendencies within itself. It needs and deserves the utmost possible support from the anti-fascist church forces against the common enemy.

Imperialism is a fascist hall mark. Fascism is absolute authority at home and absolute dominance abroad. It unites the old imperialism of conquest with the new imperialism of economic penetration. Both these enemies of democracy, whom our leaders recently told us were done for, are now showing their heads again and threatening the anti-fascist unity which alone can save us from a rebirth of the evils we set out to destroy. We shall have no power to check the desire of some of our allies, much poorer than we, to retain their colonial empires unless we can put an end to the imperialist ambitions of those who want to use the economic strength the war has brought us to their selfish advantage. Commenting on the recent Aviation Conference a writer in the Bulletin of the Canadian Fellowship for a Christian Social Order says: "In aviation the U.S.A. is in a position of potential world dominance. The private enterprise air interests in the U.S.A. wish to exploit this advantage to the full. . . ."

That road leads to more war by way of more fascism. The contrasting desire of our older vested interests to protect their investments in Europe has already led to the protection of their Axis collaborating partners and threatens to provide a base for Nazi recovery. Now is the time to remember that fascist concentration of economic power preceded, and then provided the financial support for, political fascism. Prof. Robert Brady has thoroughly documented the similarities between Nazi and big business forms of organization.

The most important wartime development of our fascist tendencies is the free enterprise propaganda campaign described in our March '44 BULLETIN. This changes the order of procedure from that in Italy and Germany. The fascist initiative is now taken by the reactionary section of big business instead of the rabble-rousers and their brain trust. The attempt is to win mass support by deceptive propaganda created and directed by advertising experts instead of the bureau of a party. If power can be won by democratic means, as Hitler won it, then the state can be used if needed to wipe out all opposition. The recent election showed us a forming fascist coalition from the top to the bottom of our society, and its first bid for power. The contradictory nature of the speeches made on the reactionary side, the conflicting promises of all things to all men, repeated the pattern of the early campaigns of Hitler. The struggle continued in the fight over Wallace and Bretton Woods. The post-war control and use of our national credit is the immediate objective. The possibility of full production and employment, of economic security for ourselves and the rest of the world, of success or failure for the United Nations, is at stake.

The vital point of strategy is the securing of as much employment as is possible under the profit-seeking economy. Unless this is won fascism cannot be defeated. All the moral and spiritual issues involved depend upon this. Widespread unemployment, bankruptcy and loss of savings, provide the emotional atmosphere in which fascist deceptions succeed. Unless we can get enough planning, the right kind, and in time, to prevent the drastic down curve of the business cycle we shall plunge into chaos and the United States will then add to the misery of the world its own type of totalitarian control. To prevent this it is necessary that enough of the Protestants of this country be made immune to the deceptions and illusions of the "free enterprise" anti-

planners to enable an effective coalition of all anti-fascist forces.

Underneath and beyond all the fascist tendencies the world around is the clerical fascism which our government, by its Spanish policy, its relations with the Vatican, and its stupidly naive attempt to use Roman Catholic religion as an instrument of the Good Neighbor policy, has helped to strengthen. Thus we have continued in this hemisphere what Mussolini began when he restored and extended the seat of papal temporal power, and thereby weakened the whole democratic, anti-clerical Catholic movement in Europe. The totalitarian Church-state was the first form of fascism and it will be the last to be banished from the earth. For democracy to become strong enough to do this it is necessary for our Protestants to join with Catholic anti-fascists here and in Latin America in the demand that the democracies accord no recognition of any sort to an ecclesiastical state and that all religions abandon any claim to temporal power.

On every front the potential forces of democracy are strong enough to finish the fight against fascism if they are sufficiently aroused and united. The only thing that can defeat democracy is a failure to fight with full strength on the home front.

Secretary's Personal Report

JACK R. McMICHAEL

Soon after turning in my copy for the March BULLETIN, I went to Owosso, Michigan, to participate in a Conference on Social Action sponsored by the Social Action Fellowships of the Detroit and Michigan Conferences on February 23, and a Conference on Reconstruction on the following day under the auspices of the Boards of Education of the two Conferences. Both were held in the First Methodist Church, Rev. Clifford E. Doty, pastor. Participants in both meetings were the same; in effect the two conferences merged into one. Unfortunately, lay representation was small, but the quality was outstanding. Professor Wesley Maurer of the Department of Journalism of the University of Michigan did a fine job as chairman of the sessions on reconstruction. He was constantly challenging the Church to become an instrument not only for prayer, but also for serious study and concrete action for the progressive realization of God's Kingdom on earth. Dr. Royal Hall of Albion College gave an unforgettable address, in the course of which he gave factual under scoring to the imperative for people's socio-economic planning. The actual question, he insisted, is not planning versus non-planning, but planning: by whom and for whom? He saw evidence also that nation after nation in Europe is moving sharply to the left at the insistence of the people, who see the old order blasted at the roots and demand basic change. Miss Doris Dennison of the Adult Department of the Board of Education had come up from Nashville to participate in both conferences; and she pointed out that the Board was sponsoring similar conferences in other areas, with stress on lay participation.

On Sunday, February 25, I occupied Brother Doty's pulpit and also spoke to his youth group in Church School. Some of the young people expressed interest in becoming youth members of the Federation and in forming a youth unit in the church. Brother Doty urged such a development and promised to push it. If so, he will provide an excellent example for other ministerial Federationists. Sunday afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Fred Poole drove me to Detroit, where Fred extended me hospitality for the night.

Monday I interviewed key Negro leaders in Detroit, all of whom pledged enthusiastic, loyal participation in any inclusive Federation chapter to be developed in the Detroit region. There was Dr. W. H. Williams, District Superin-

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“... as pagans choose to do ...”

Well, as Christ has suffered for us in the flesh, let this very conviction that he who has suffered in the flesh gets quit of sin, nerve you to spend the rest of your time in the flesh for the will of God and no longer for human passions.

It is quite enough to have done as pagans choose to do, during the time gone by!

You used to lead lives of sensuality, lust, carousing, revelry, dissipation and illicit idolatry, and it astonishes them that you will not plunge with them still into the same flood of profligacy. . . .

It is time for the Judgment to begin with the household of God; and if it begins with us, what will be the fate of those who refuse obedience to God's gospel? If the just man is scarcely saved, what will become of the impious and sinful?—1 Peter 4:1-4, 17-18. The Holy Bible: A New Translation, by James Moffatt.

A recent report of 217 Methodist churches in the Chicago area shows that these churches received on profession of faith, during the past Conference year, 1,828 persons “which may hardly be regarded as a spectacular inroad on the paganism” of present day life. Is the word “spectacular” well chosen in this connection? Would not the reporter have done better to have used the term “significant”?

Some of these more than 200 churches have a recorded membership of 1,000 to 2,000 persons; many of them 400 to 700 or 800. For a church of 400 members, not to speak of one three to four times as large, to have added in the course of twelve months only 8 or 9 new members, certainly does not represent “spectacular” evangelistic success. But considering how lightly the obligations of church membership are regarded by the average member it would seem more important to ask whether it represents any particularly significant inroad on present-day secularism. To sharpen the point: suppose instead of 1,828 the report had said 18,280? That doubtless would have been regarded as “spectacular” evangelistic success. How significant an inroad on the “paganism” of the Chicago area would that have represented?

We have no desire or purpose to depreciate either the religious or the ethical values of present-day evangelism. We do not question but what great good is being accomplished. But Protestantism—and especially Methodism—has always been characterized by a willingness to engage on occasion in candid, discriminating self-examination.

The drive of contemporary evangelism seems to be chiefly in the direction of intensifying and speeding-up the prevailing processes of recruiting church membership. It seems to measure its success by counting the number of persons “received on profession of faith” into the churches? Is this an adequate criterion of success as Jesus estimated success?

In attempting to analyze the influence of organized religion on changing social philosophy during a crucial decade, Helen Merrell Lynd in her recent book, “England in the Eighteen-eighties” (see “Notes on Significant Books,” page 15 of this issue), includes quotations from three different sources characterizing the Church of England. “John Morley declared that: ‘The Anglican Church is not the Church of the nation but the Church of a class; not the benign counsellor and helpful protectress of the poor, but the mean serving maid of the rich. She is as inveterate a foe to new social hope as we know her to be to a new scientific truth.’” Reynolds Newspaper said, “Ministers of State may always

rely upon ministers of the gospel sanctioning . . . any line of policy the former may adopt, however unjust, cruel . . . and opposed to the doctrines . . . of Christianity it may be . . .”! The Economist in the course of a tribute on the occasion of his death, to Dean Stanley of Westminster, characterizing him as exceptional—“a living figure” in England's affairs—said, “The defect of the English establishment, as of the Roman Catholic Church, . . . is that her best men seem to belong to another world, to talk an archaic dialect, to be moved by earlier impulses and older reasonings than those which govern the men of today. Her most prominent Bishops . . . lecture upon subjects no one is discussing, contend with sins not felt as living temptations, advise remedies everyone sees to be unpractical. Her best preachers send their voices everywhere except into the marketplace. . . .”

Might it not be a wholesome exercise for the Protestant Churches of the United States in the nineteen-forties to examine themselves in the light of these three statements? To what extent are our Churches—my Church—becoming “the Church of a class”? To what extent is it “the helpful protectress of the poor”; to what extent “the mean serving maid of the rich . . . an inveterate foe to new social hope”? Are there Protestant ministers today who are ready to sanction any line of policy politicians may adopt, “However unjust”? How many are talking “an archaic dialect,” preaching “upon subjects no one is discussing,” contending “with sins not felt as living temptations”?

Some things are as plain as a pikestaff. On every social issue fraught with ethical implications which present-day secular paganism presents, Protestant church members are to be found on both sides. Practically every week nowadays issues arise in Congress that are basically moral in their nature. Congressmen who are members in good standing of the Churches are to be found on both sides of every such issue. The same holds true of state legislatures and of local community-organizations in which questions of policy are brought forward. To what extent, in these various cases, are attitudes for or against determined by the ethical teachings of prophetic religion? To what extent does religion as a determining factor motivate the thought and action of Church members?

Addressing members of the most prominent, and outwardly most religious, sect of His day, Jesus likened them to “sepulchres . . . full of dead men's bones.” What did Jesus mean by this characterization? What is the significance of His words for the religious of our day? And for the policies and programs of the Churches?

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BULLETIN

Issued monthly, except July, August and September
This issue edited by Wade Crawford Barclay

The METHODIST FEDERATION
for SOCIAL SERVICE
(Unofficial)

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Re-entered as second class matter October 9, 1941, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912

Executive Committee Meets

The Executive Committee MFSS met in quarterly session at Hotel Irving, New York City, March 13, 1945, the president, Bishop Louis O. Hartman, presiding. Members present were Lester W. Auman, Wade Crawford Barclay, Corliss P. Hargraves, Lewis O. Hartman, Robert R. Powell, Charles E. Schofield, Edgar A. Love, Ralph B. Urmy, Wayne White; as also Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary, and John M. Wade, Office Secretary. Communications, many of them expressing judgments on topics on the agenda which had been sent out in advance, were read from Bishop James C. Baker, Bishop Charles W. Brashares, Harold C. Case, Gilbert S. Cox, Henry Hitt Crane, Owen M. Geer, Sarah S. Hester, John C. Lazenby, Franklin H. Littell, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, George L. Poor, H. M. Ratliff, Miriam Ristine, Thelma Stevens, Lloyd D. White, and Ruth F. Wolcott.

An illuminating and encouraging report of activities since his election was read by the Executive Secretary, Jack R. McMichael. Following extended discussion of content and of questions raised by it, the report was accepted with expression of appreciation to the secretary.

Report of treasurer, Gilbert Q. LeSourd, was read and approved. There was discussion of status of the campaign to secure quadrennial pledges, reported as a little under three-fourths of the way toward the minimum goal of \$10,800. Plans were made for additional promotional effort. Attention was called to the fact that an increasing number of local churches are including the Federation in their benevolence budgets.

At the December 2 meeting the newly created Administrative Committee was asked to formulate an organizational plan for Annual Conference Chapters, and Local Chapters, of the Federation. The Committee reported. (See "Federation Chapters.") The plan was discussed at length. It was explained that the purpose of organizing Conference Chapters on a geographical area basis is to make possible functional participation in the Chapter of all members of the Federation residing in the area, irrespective of Conference membership. For example, a Rock River Conference Chapter, if organized on this plan, would include in its membership not only members of Rock River Conference but also all Lexington Conference members of the Federation residing within the geographical area; and likewise all Federation members belonging to other Annual Conferences but living within the geographical area of Rock River. Inasmuch as the Lexington Conference, as well as all other Annual Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction, is set up on racial lines and covers almost the entire area of seven states, a functioning Lexington Conference Chapter would be practically an impossibility.

The organizational plan as proposed, after certain minor changes had been made, was approved.

Various proposals bearing on change of name of the Federation were presented and discussed. The Executive Secretary was directed to study further the question of desirability of change of name and to report at the next meeting.

Program emphases were given extended consideration. It was agreed that the Federation ought not duplicate work being done by official agencies of the Church, but act as a spearhead group on social issues in advance of and supplementing the activities of other agencies and giving special attention to neglected emphases.

Formal action was taken by unanimous vote in opposition to enactment in time of war of a peacetime conscription law. (See "No Peacetime Conscription Law.")

Action also was taken in support of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, as follows:

"On behalf of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the Executive Committee strongly concurs in the position of the Council of Bishops as to the decisive importance

of widespread peoples' participation in the process of studying, supporting, and seeking improvements in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. We enthusiastically commend the international unity manifested at Yalta and urge that it be broadened by including all other peace-loving democratic nations. Today is the day America, with the world, is at a decisive turning point in history. We must not go the way of 1920 or follow the destructive path of our modern Henry Cabot Lodges who, in the name of alleged perfectionism, would lead us again down the disastrous road to isolationism. America must play a responsible and cooperative role with other nations in the world organization to be decided upon by the representatives soon to meet at San Francisco. It is within, and only within, the framework of such American participation in international organization, and of the international cooperation to be made possible, that we who lead the Methodist Federation for Social Service envisage the progressive attainment of the high goals which we, as Christians, hold for our America and for the world. We seek the fulfillment and implementation of the Atlantic Charter and particularly desire the world security organization to be strengthened at the point of human well-being. We urge our members to make their views known to the proper authorities before the San Francisco meeting on April 25."

The Sub-committee on Education and Cultivation presented a report calling for the issuance of pamphlet materials on the history and program of the Federation, and for Study and Discussion units of certain types not now available through official channels. The proposal was approved "subject to limitations of finance, and in the continued absence of existing or soon to be available similar materials from other sources."

A plan for reorganization of the National Committee was adopted and referred to the Executive Secretary for execution.

The Rev. Eugene L. Smith of the Newark Conference, who is entering the chaplaincy, presented his resignation as a member of the Executive Committee. The resignation was accepted with regret. Robert C. Howe, also of Newark Conference, was elected to fill the vacancy.

No Peacetime Conscription Law

At the meeting of the Executive Committee MFSS on March 13, the following resolution, proposed by the Executive Secretary, was passed by unanimous vote:

"On behalf of the Methodist Federation for Social Service the Executive Committee expresses agreement with the official position of the Methodist Church, and with the Council of Bishops, that the present Congress should not enact legislation for postwar conscription, and that all further consideration of the matter by Congress should be postponed until after the war. The Executive Committee urges Federation members throughout the country to take action in opposition."

"Nothing must ever make us forget that we belong to a body that is in the world to recreate and make that world new. Reconstruction is the very task that we ought to be really at home with: no bitter taunts about our corporate ineffectiveness, no consciousness of failures on our own part, ought ever to cause us to be forgetful of the fact that the Church, the body of Christ, has a divine mission toward the fashioning of the social order. That is why, somehow, we must lift up our voice at a moment when talk of reconstruction is rife, and minds are everywhere directing themselves to the various problems of future well-being. . . ."—The Commonwealth.

Formation of the Group¹

FRANKLIN H. LITTELL

The gathering of a fellowship group is a special art, and requires a high degree of sensitivity upon the part of pastor or lay leader. Most of our meetings are attempts to rally "natural-born" leaders to carry a program, and we have largely lost the ability to work with those who come seeking. The spirit of the meeting should be earnestly humble, rather than enthusiastic. The ethical concern grows out of the group; it is not the center which brought the group together in the first place. For the small group rests upon a simple but basic proposition: *That there are profound life insights that can be discovered in no way but through the regular and meaningful give and take of an intimate fellowship.* This is the spirit in which a "cell" must begin: it is *exploratory rather than doctrinaire.*

When such a group has covenanted together "to walk in all His ways made known or to be made known unto us according to our best endeavors, whatsoever it shall cost us," something quite remarkable emerges in the way of conscientious life and action. For the ethical program becomes rooted in a group which is learning the practice of "unlimited liability" one for the other, and it expresses the best collective thought rather than the imagination of a single individual. In a sense, every member is in pastoral training to learn the responsibility for others which is usually relegated to the professional religious worker. And every action, as well as inaction, is tested by the divine relationship of this little community to God and His Kingdom.

The growth of community provides a secure foundation for the ethical program, and its practice also eliminates a kind of sensationalism which is too common in religious circles. We frequently find prima donnas in social action fellowships, who destroy "the sense of the meeting" by ill-conceived and ill-executed "acts of conscience." But true conscience is a dimension related to God and the community, and action that is worth while must stand both tests. A petition or speech or campaign has a place in time as well as a quality of timelessness, and it is the additional function of a "cell" to develop the historical sense in its members.

The first meetings

We have seen that the "cell" must be exploratory rather than doctrinaire, that in the "cell" the member learns to test his social idealism in the practice of brotherhood, that in the "cell" a dimension of responsibility is added to the popular notion of conscience. What then are the first things in this process of education?

The first meetings must achieve a feeling of mutual confidence. The "cell" is a face-to-face group, without turnover in membership. The practice of complete sincerity in facing and discussing spiritual problems can be attained through skillful leadership and proper techniques. Perhaps the most important of these is "going around the circle" on all major questions. This constitutes a serious effort to create the conditions for decisions which truly represent the highest findings of the group, and not the opinions of its most vocal members.

Each member should early express his real reason for coming to the meeting. There are certain reasons to be prized: discontent with a "successful" life, a conviction of need for help beyond individual prowess, a desire to go into training in Christianity. The leader will need to help some to make the subconscious reason articulate and meaningful. Another very useful technique is for each member to put a statement of spiritual "pilgrimage" on paper, and subject it to the questions and judgment of the "cell." This helps the individual to make a new beginning psychologically,

and again strengthens the sense of inter-dependence in the members.

The growth of discipline

Usually the new member will feel most lacking in the area of spiritual discipline, and the leader must meet him at the point of his felt need. As it learns, the "cell" will strive to build up a body of voluntary disciplines: (a) prayer and meditation; (b) devotional readings; (c) fasting; (d) planning.

Prayer is the continual reminder that only through the grace of God—and not by our own intensity—can we move ahead. Prayer should be more praise than supplication, more intercessory than personal. As we grow out of the belief in magic, we find that God answers "Yes" as well as "No."

Devotional reading is the beginning of action, of a sound understanding of the work of God and His people in history. The Bible is the record of the spiritual pilgrimage of a people; and we are the spiritual descendants of this people, through whom God will work today if we will surrender our lives.

Fasting is a discipline which the modern age scorns (that age which "digs its grave with its teeth"), which has been and still is part of the whole armor of great Christian leaders. It is of physical value not only for its own worth but because it calls up the salient questions concerning good health and care of physical reserve. It is best connected with a giving of money, in which we remind ourselves of what we are all too prone to forget today: that we have no moral right to eat cake while others lack bread.

Planning is a means for conquering the continual press of uncoordinated circumstance. Fifteen minutes spent at the beginning of each day will serve well in outlining the day's work. One brotherhood has developed daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual disciplines—training its members to put first things first in time as well as in ideals. Every so often a Day of Assessment may be set, in which the member goes apart to read and study, and go back over the previous period in prayer, to discover failures and joys and plan the next period of time. Setting a definite group meeting is a major discipline, with emphasis upon beginning and stopping on time. The general psychological sequence of the meeting should be studied out for a maximum of effectiveness.

Study and action

Once a secure foundation is laid in the life of the "cell," the mind leaps readily to disciplines of study and action. After the first three months or so the spiritual disciplines continue, but are no longer the dominating concern of a healthy fellowship. They are accepted as fundamental to the ethical program whose lines begin to emerge and clarify.

Study disciplines come fairly early in the group concern. The triumph of free thinking habits in our liberal circles has made for a condition of grave theoretical deficiency. The revolt against authority has carried us far over into ignorance of the basic matters of our faith. Mistakes are made in action which would have been averted by even superficial knowledge of Hebrew-Christian history. It is time that those in earnest set themselves to a thorough theoretical grounding in the issues of Christian action and living. For lay people, one of the most helpful techniques is to take the name of some outstanding Christian leader and study his life and work and writings thoroughly. For the Christian, faith is a life and is best understood in such terms.

Action is undertaken with a sense of discipline which can never be attained by an open meeting called in enthusiasm

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¹ The third in a series of three articles on the organization and development of Fellowship groups. See February and March issues of the BULLETIN.

The Bretton Woods Agreement

While Dumbarton Oaks has had much wider publicity and greater public interest, there are good reasons to believe that the proposed International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development are of no less importance as foundation stones in a new structure of world cooperation. The Bretton Woods Agreement was approved by the official delegates of forty-four nations, and its ratification is now being sought in Congress. Now is the time for the people to speak. It is quite as essential for public opinion to be registered on Bretton Woods as on Dumbarton Oaks. As Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, said at the close of the conference last summer, "At the heart of the (Agreement) lie the most elementary bread-and-butter-realities of daily life."

What is the Bretton Woods Agreement? "The ultimate aims of the program," says Harry D. White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and principal author of the plan, "can be stated very simply—high levels of employment and rising standards of living." And that not for the people of one or two favored nations but for *the people of one world*. In fewest possible words, as means to these ends it is proposed to establish the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. These institutions will be operated on the assumption that the economic well-being of all countries depends on the balanced growth of trade and productive international investment. The Fund will facilitate trade expansion by promoting stable currencies and freedom in exchange transactions. The Bank will attempt to reopen the opportunities for private international investment mainly by adding its guarantee to security issues floated through established investment channels.

The details of the Agreement were considered in long conference by the official delegates of forty-four nations—these representatives almost without exception being both persons of broad vision and experts schooled and experienced in the hard realities of international finance. Informal exchanges of suggestion and opinion between the fiscal experts of thirty nations were conducted for more than two years before the conference was convened.

Who are for and who are against the Agreement? Of 250 American economists who were canvassed, 224 subscribed to a statement endorsing both the Fund and the Bank, released by Senator Robert F. Wagner. American bankers are divided in attitude. Very few have expressed opposition to the plan for an International Bank; many, but by no means all, do object to the Monetary Fund. However, Edward E. Brown, Chairman of the Board, First National Bank of Chicago, says: "All critics of the international monetary fund realize that the United States must in its own interest help the rest of the world get on its feet after this war is over, either by gifts or by furnishing credit and taking credit risks. . . . Some considerable degree of currency stabilization is . . . one of the indispensable things which must be provided for a reconstructed world economy. No other plan has been suggested which involves less risk to the American people than the Fund, even assuming that we still continue indefinitely our present high tariff policy." The *New York Times* of March 23 reports that eleven bankers who are presidents of banks representing 70 per cent of total assets of all Philadelphia banks have expressed a belief that the Agreement "provides a fair basis for effective financial collaboration among the United Nations as a counterpart of collective security in the political sphere." The American Labor Conference on International Affairs organized two years ago by union labor leaders to study war and post-war problems urges Congressional approval of the Agreement on the ground that the two proposed institutions would facilitate full employment at home and abroad and would promote

world peace. For the most part, apparently, most American business and industrial leaders favor the Agreement, recognizing that their prosperity depends upon an increased volume of world trade.

Opposition to Bretton Woods—powerful pressure is being exerted—is registered chiefly against the Monetary Fund and comes principally from bankers. A committee of the American Bankers Association has issued an unfavorable report, and the head office of the Association has been busy in mobilizing opposition. The Monetary Fund provision, simply stated in the words of Article IV, 4, (a), is that "Each member undertakes to collaborate with the Fund to promote exchange stability—to maintain orderly exchange arrangements with other members and avoid competitive exchange alterations." Negatively it is aimed to eliminate the economic warfare of the past which has been waged with the weapons of international exchange—multiple currency practices, barter, dumping, quotas and other tricks employed in the period which preceded World War II. It is a matter of record that unscrupulous manipulation in the past has put "profits"—unearned—in the pockets of the few. It is equally clear that artificial currency depreciations have tended in the long run to restrict the flow of trade, whatever the seeming gain at the moment, and thus to depress the living standards of the majority of the people of any nation which, caught for a time with an unfavorable balance of trade, for one reason or another permits a devaluation of its currency.

Some bankers object to this plan ostensibly because, as they say, it is "new and untried," "economically unsound," and "involves unreasonable risk of which the United States assumes the heavier share." Say these bankers, the U. S. would put \$2,750,000,000 into a fund from which every other nation would borrow until it was all gone. This fails to reckon fairly with the safeguards written into this agreement to make sure that the Fund's resources cannot be dissipated or lost; by which not more than 25 per cent of a member's quota in the Fund could be asked for in any one year to relieve a temporarily unstable currency situation, and by which "borrowings" are to be returned to the Fund within reasonable time. A representative board of governors is not going to allow indefinite postponement of repayment because of the unfavorable influence upon trading stability in other countries, their own included. It is quite correct, however, to assert that through the operation of this Fund the United States will serve the interests of economically less fortunate nations. To do this is both sound business and good religion.

One suspects that the real reasons of some big bankers more nearly revolve around the apparent fact that they are likely to have less voice, indeed, less control, than formerly in ordering of adjustments in currency exchange to their own advantage. In fact, charges to this effect have been made in various quarters. Speaking before the New York State Council of the International Association of Machinists on March 23, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida described the opposing bankers as prime movers of "selfish and narrow-minded interests who will try to wreck every aspect of the United Nations program which affects their pocketbooks. . . . These bankers want to dominate international finance not for public but for private profit."

It is disconcerting to note that a studied effort is under way to create opposition to the Monetary Fund and to create tension between the United States and Great Britain by representations to the effect that it unfairly favors the interests of Great Britain or, it is charged by others, the interests of the United States. Before the House Banking and Currency Committee, Leon Fraser, president of the First National Bank of New York, attacked the proposal as "a

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MFSS and the New York FEPC Law

WAYNE WHITE¹

On March 12, 1945, the Ives-Quinn bill creating a New York State Fair Employment Practices Commission was signed by Governor Thomas Dewey. The bill's enactment was the result of determined, earnest support of many groups and socially progressive individuals—among other groups, the Methodist Federation. The law marks a great step forward in the practice of social justice for minority groups. It has been called by the Hon. C. H. Tuttle, "an economic proclamation of emancipation."

The law provides for a five-man commission to enforce "the executive law in relation to prevention and elimination of practices of discrimination in employment and otherwise against persons because of race, creed, color, or national origin." It declares such discrimination to be a matter of state concern, threatening not only the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants, but constituting a menace to the institutions and foundations of a free democratic state.

The commission is to eliminate and prevent discrimination in employment in every field, with the exception of education, fraternal, social, charitable, and religious associations or corporations (if not organized for private profit). It also excludes individuals in domestic service or employers with less than six persons in their employ.

The commission is given power to enforce, as well as hold hearings and attempt to adjust grievances; it is a "police power of the state for the protection" of the people's welfare, and fulfillment of the bill of rights and state civil rights.

The resolution supporting the measure which was presented by the Methodist Federation representatives, Dr. Samuel F. Sweeney and the Rev. Wayne White, follows:

"We, who represent the Methodist Federation for Social Service, speaking for several hundred ministerial and lay members of the Federation in the state of New York, wish to register our strong support for the Ives-Quinn bill to establish a State FEPC. We believe this measure represents a practical step toward more justice and opportunity for every citizen of the State, and toward the easing of racial tension, the prevention of race friction, and the healing of some of the open sores of democracy. It gives effect to our national Bill of Rights and our Constitutional guarantees.

"The Methodist Church, through its recent General Conference, went on record officially as standing 'for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.' (1944 Discipline, paragraph 2010.) The Methodist Federation for Social Service in supporting this bill is the voice of several hundred laymen and ordained ministers of the State of New York who are energetic and influential in leading their local communities toward the practice of Christian ideals. They regard with deep conviction the subject matter of this bill, and are enthusiastically behind it. They believe it should be passed promptly, without amendments and without relegating it to a referendum.

"While it is true that racial prejudice, being an emotion, cannot be legislated out of existence, it is certainly obvious that actions of such a nature, being unbrotherly and based on prejudice are the natural subject of laws. The passage of laws preventing discrimination can be and will be beneficial in the creation of a better spirit between races and groups. Law can become the ally of education. We who see in the gospel of Christ and His Kingdom the only satisfactory principles of a happy nation, welcome this step toward larger fairness in employment."

Chosen at a Federation meeting held in the Parkside Hotel, New York, on February 19, these delegates represented the New York, the Newark, and the New York East Conference

groups of MFSS. But they also spoke for the historic position of the Federation, as expressed through the years in general principles, and for the official position of the Methodist Church which denies discrimination to any of God's children.

On February 20, the delegates found themselves in one of the greatest hearings ever held in Albany. Hundreds of people crowded the Assembly Chamber waiting to speak on behalf of the bill. They came from all sections of the state, and from all walks of life. It was a spontaneous expression of righteous conviction and of the desire to eradicate an ancient evil. Individuals came to show their concern, but most of those present had been sent by various professional, religious, social, and labor groups to speak on behalf of many not present.

The bill had been sponsored by legislators of both parties. It was presented in the Senate by Elmer F. Quinn, leader of the Democratic minority; in the Assembly by Irving F. Ives, Republican majority leader. Most of the members of the Study Commission which had drawn up the bill, and many other law-makers, sat patiently through the entire hearing which lasted from morning until after 2:00 A.M. the next morning. Speeches in support were made by Bishop Gilbert for the Federal Council of Churches and the New York Protestant Episcopal Church; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; and Mr. C. S. Tobin for the State Catholic Welfare groups. Altogether ninety organizations were there asking for a chance to be heard in support of the bill. Included were many Negro groups, CIO unions, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Independent Theater Owners, and many others. A ten-year-old boy from the "Little Red Schoolhouse"—a New York City private school—said he and his classmates wanted the bill to pass. It seems that one of his friends had a party to which he invited a colored member of the class. This youngster, arriving at the apartment house, was told by the elevator man to walk up the back steps. The presentations, for the most part, were on a high plane.

Opposition centered in business, trade, and socially reactionary groups. Most influential were the New York Chamber of Commerce (not unanimous in opposition), Realty Boards, and various Boards of Trade. The Locomotive Firemen and Engineers also joined in opposing it. The chief arguments offered against the bill were these:

(1) The bill would necessitate drastic changes in labor policy, and would therefore upset traditions and industrial customs to an extent that might have serious consequences. The chairman of the public health and welfare committee of the State Chamber of Commerce said that the bill would be "injurious to the best interests of the state and its citizens," and that it would "drive existing business from the state and deter outside industries from locating in New York." Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, Inc., anti-labor and reactionary, described the measure as "communist-inspired" and "totalitarian," and said it would bring "bloodshed."

(2) The bill would give minority groups an unfair advantage, and might reduce the cheap labor surplus which is advantageous for industry. This argument, variously phrased, brought severe repercussions and in the end weakened rather than strengthened the cause of the opposition. The plain people were not slow to see through it, and expressed themselves in no uncertain terms. A housewife said, "Every mother wants to make this a better world for her children. . . . Everybody is entitled to a job because everybody has a right to live." A sailor, after four years in the Navy: "We don't want to come back to job restrictions. The legislature must protect the interests of working men." A sergeant, wounded in the South Pacific: "Discrimi-

¹ Wayne White is pastor of the Westchester Methodist Church in New York City.

nation is one of the things we are fighting in this war. We should have safeguards and guarantees at home. The bill expresses a principle on which this nation was founded." An expressman: "I just came out of the Army after fifteen months and realize there are battles to be fought here on the home front. This is one and we have got to win it to blaze the way for better, safer times. We are entitled to the law."

(3) Education, said some, is the only effective way to eliminate prejudice and the resulting discrimination. "You cannot legislate away prejudice." This latter principle was argued at length in a letter to the *New York Times* in the issue of February 13, signed by several well-known citizens, including Elinor Herriek and Oswald G. Villard. It plead for slow but growing public opinion instead of wasteful, or even harmful enforcement by law. This letter was ably answered by the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary of MFSS, in a letter published in the *Times* on February 15. He admitted that prejudice, being a matter of emotional attitude, cannot be eliminated by legislation alone. But he went on to urge legislation which helps create the conditions in which prejudices can be reduced by opening up new experiences of inter-personal relationship and first-hand contact.

The bill passed by a large majority, only sixteen Republican assemblymen and six senators opposing it in the final vote. It is destined to have nationwide influence, since more or less similar bills are now on the legislative calendars of ten other states—Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Mexico, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Members of MFSS can do a great service to the common cause by studying the Ives-Quinn law and working for the enactment of similar laws in their respective states. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports that individuals and organizations in a number of other states are drafting anti-discrimination legislation for presentation to their legislatures.

Secretary's Personal Report

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tendent of the Chicago District; Dr. H. M. Carroll, Methodist pastor in Detroit, and Mr. Gloster B. Current, an old friend who is both a devoted Methodist layman (close to the Methodist youth movement) and Executive Secretary of Detroit's NAACP. Time did not allow much in the way of labor contacts. On an earlier trip through Detroit I had interviewed A.F.L. leaders. This time I visited U.A.W. headquarters and interviewed Mr. Wishart, Research Director. Both Mr. Wishart and Mr. Current stressed the need for church participation in the struggle to win more decent housing for Detroit's overcrowded and ghettoed Negroes.

Return to New York was followed by brief participation on behalf of the Federation in a series of seminars sponsored by the World Peace and Social Service Commissions of the New York East Conference. Owen M. Geer, who had come from Dearborn to play the major role in these seminars, stressed the Federation as a channel for social education and action. John Wade said a word for the Federation in Bridgeport, and I did a similar job in Hartford, Brooklyn and Hempstead.

Mention should be made of four other places in which opportunity has been given to push the Federation: a youth meeting and adult forum in Albert Allinger's church in Cranford, New Jersey; a sub-district youth rally held in Charles Hart's church in Huntington, Long Island; an informal church youth group discussion along with a delicious buffet lunch in the New Haven home of Mrs. Willard Uphaus—whom I had known in 1938 in Chengtu, West China—following my preaching in Summerfield Church, from

which J. George Butler has recently gone, having been appointed to a pastorate in Hartford; and a well-attended meeting at Union Seminary, which Union student Dick Kendall had arranged, and in which Dr. Harry F. Ward was good enough to participate by speaking on Federation history.

This month has seen the confirmation of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. Already Mr. Wallace has held conferences with businessmen and others looking to the realization of his and our goal of an expanded and expanding economy. Another victory in which Federation folk played an important part was the overwhelming passage of the bi-partisan Ives-Quinn anti-discrimination measure in New York state. Important next steps are the securing of a good commission to administer this law and the passage of undergirding legislation. Similar bills are now coming before the legislatures of other states and should be studied and supported by Federation members. Above all, we should give immediate and vigorous support to adequate legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission *nationally*. Through the United Christian Council for Democracy, the Federation has been represented in hearings for the bi-partisan S. 101 and against S. 459—Senator Taft's bill which gives lip service to the goal of ending job discrimination, but purposely avoids the practical provisions which alone can realize that goal. Further Methodist representation at hearings on these two bills was given by Miss Thelma Stevens, the Federation's Recording Secretary, who testified for the official Women's Division of Christian Service. We urge you to study these bills and write to Senator Chavez and to your own Senators on behalf of a permanent FEPC with power really to end job discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin (the latter basis for discrimination is not even mentioned by the Taft Bill!). Mrs. Mary T. Norton, chairman of the Committee on Labor, and your own Representative, are the key people to write regarding similar legislation in the House.

Another political issue on which the Federation took a stand during the month was the struggle over the nomination of Aubrey Williams as Rural Electrification Administrator. The nature of the opposition to him joined the issues of race equality and religious freedom to the basic issue to rural welfare—a maximum spread of electrification among farmers, especially the disinherited. Here, as in the Wallace case, the basic issue was raised concerning whom the great resources of this nation are to serve; the privileged few alone or the many and traditionally under-privileged as well? And here, again, the forces of prejudice, privilege, and reaction had their way!

Of central importance was the meeting of the Executive Committee held on March 13. See the report of that meeting elsewhere in this issue. Special attention is called to the plans for chapter organization. The plans have been made. Now the time has come for grass roots action.

"And how shall it be when the measure of the time is full, and the Day of the Earth come?
What shall it be, save that man shall be determined to be free?
Then men shall have the fruits of the earth;
And the fruits of their toil thereon.
Then shall those that labor become strong and stronger, and all shall work and none made to work.
Then shall be plenty in the land and none be robbed.
Then, at last, shall all men have the goods of earth, without money and without price,
And they shall all labor and live, and be happy."

—William Morris.

Formation of the Group

(Continued from page 7)

for the carrying out of some program. For social action, like the missionary outreach of the group, is conceived as the carefully worked out plan of community purpose—a plan whose carrying power rests in the life of the “cell,” rather than in the scattered individual efforts of many well-meaning people.

The lines of approach have been evident to us for a long time. The SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN should be studied in the “cell,” and reports made on action taken and the result. We might note, in addition, that the effectiveness of a “cell” in the local church will rest in part with the maturity of the group mind concerning membership in the congregation. Membership in a primary religious community (congregation) is a vital part in the mature life of a committed person. It is the part of the “cell” to give that discipline additional content; every congregation needs “burden-bearers,” who work quietly in the posts assigned to them.

It is also true that action should be taken with an open eye toward the large injustices and unethical conduct within the church itself. As the “cells” grow, divide and spread, they will be white corpuscles of health within the larger Christian community, bringing it again to the internal health by which it may be truly a light unto the world, a City set on a Hill.

First Cell to Heal

At a Freedom Fund Rally, sponsored by the Potomac Cooperative Federation, Dr. Frank Munk, UNRRA Director of Training said, “Cooperatives (in Europe) have been the first institutions to start working after liberation—the first cell in the economic body to heal.” He told about a little village in Greece he had visited—one of 3,000 completely destroyed by the Nazis. Finding shelter sufficient to cover their heads, even before rebuilding their houses they rebuilt their three community organizations, their church, school and cooperative—a cooperative olive oil press. Everywhere, he said, he found this cooperative spirit among people fired by the spark of their previous experience in community effort.

Dr. Munk's statement is substantiated by a report from Italy that in the city of Rome alone as many as 800 cooperatives sprang up within two months of liberation. The national Central Cooperative Office has reopened and Ercole Chiri, general secretary, says the indications are that within a year or two the Cooperative Movement in Italy will be stronger than ever before.

Bretton Woods Agreement

(Continued from page 8)

grant in aid to Great Britain.” On the other hand, Robert Boothby, Member of Parliament, now lecturing in this country, implies that the agreement is bound to lead to serious misunderstanding between Great Britain and the United States. He should not be understood as speaking for the British Government whose fiscal experts under the leadership of Lord Keynes joined at the Bretton Woods Conference in accepting the agreement. Moreover, while Mr. Boothby is chairman of Parliament's Monetary Policy Committee, it is recognized in England that he has been for years the unofficial representative of London financial interests.

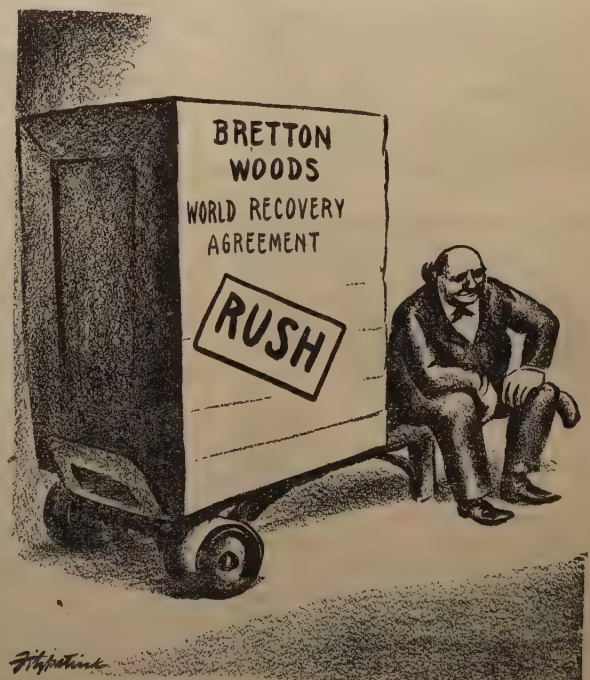
Here, again, it seems clear that the issue is joined between the interests of the masses of the people of our own and

other countries and the interests of the privileged few. An integral part of any comprehensive plan of world cooperation must be agreement on finance. Indeed, this plan of collective security in monetary matters is in some sense a prior consideration upon which other security measures must be predicated. “The heart of the Bretton Woods proposal,” as Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson asserted before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on March 23, “is that there must be some action to get the nations to agree to abandon methods of economic warfare—such methods as competitive exchange depreciation, multiple currencies and exchange controls.”

Bills carrying authorization for the United States to join with other nations in establishing the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and appropriating the agreed-upon contribution of our government to each institution, have been introduced into the House by Congressman Brent Spence (H. R. 2211) and in the Senate jointly by Senators Robert F. Wagner and Charles W. Tobey (S. 540). Hearings have been held by the House Committee on Banking and Currency. As this article is written it appears altogether unlikely that legislation will be enacted before the San Francisco Conference opens on April 25. The Administration is reported to have abandoned hope of such enactment and to be now taking the view that passage of the legislation during the course of the conference will be more effective than too hasty action.

It is time for the people to speak. Members of Congress have not heard enough from home. The close-knit powerful lobby of high financial interests is busily at work, bringing constant pressure to bear. We urge support of the Bretton Woods Agreement in its entirety. If you are undecided and need more information, send for materials freely available to all.¹ When decision has been reached, write your Congressman and Senator and urge others to do the same.

¹The Bretton Woods Proposals, an interpretative pamphlet, and Bretton Woods, the President's Message to Congress. Address U. S. Treasury, Washington, D. C. Single copies, or in quantity, free.



Fitzpatrick in the
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

How Congress Delivers the Goods

Social Issues in Today's World

Rural Life and Welfare

POST-WAR HOUSING PROGRAM.—Informing the Senate Post-War Housing Subcommittee that only 2 million of the 6½ million farm dwellings in USA can be considered even "fairly satisfactory," Secretary of Agriculture Wickard recently recommended that Congress draw up a post-war housing program. A first essential, he stated, would be revision of Farm Credit's regulations on loans so that agencies of FCA could make loans for the repair and construction of farm buildings. He urged that provision be made for specialized credit to meet the needs of families who own their own farms, with a flexible repayment plan based on the size of annual income.

WARTIME AGRICULTURE.—Between 1940 and 1944 food production in the USA increased 23 per cent. This in face of the fact that the farm population declined 16 per cent; farm employment dropped 5 per cent; and crop acreage went up only 5 per cent. Explanation may be found in four facts: (1) an increase of 45 per cent in the use of commercial fertilizers; (2) increase in labor saving machinery (49 per cent more milking machines, 29 per cent more mechanical corn pickers, 23 per cent more combine harvesters); (3) decrease in rotation pasturage and summer fallow at the expense of soil fertility and future crop yields; and (4) unusually favorable weather and growing conditions. The U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates that a third of the increased yields per acre can be attributed to the latter feature. Increased production plus wartime prices boosted "realized net income" of farm operators from 4.6 billions in 1940 to 12.4 billions in 1944. Allowing for higher costs, the purchasing power of farm income in 1944 was the highest on record.

NEW OPENNESS TO LEADERSHIP—GOOD OR BAD.—In a paper read before the Eastern Sociological Society, New York, published in *Rural Sociology* for December, 1944, Professor Wayne C. Neely of Hood College, Frederick, Maryland, presents the result of an informal study of trends of social change during war—in a typical midwest community in Adair County, Iowa. Certain old social forms, he finds, have been pulverized by war, "leaving the people open to a leadership that can, for good or ill, mold them toward progress or reaction." The churches he finds to be functionally not primarily either religious or social, but "sociability groups." Sermons and Sunday-school lessons make a few brief references that seek to "apply the lessons of the Bible to our life today" but scarcely come to grips with world problems. There seems to have been some increase in initiative and self-sufficiency of local families. Desire for farm ownership has increased. There has been practically no effort on the part of churches, clubs, or civic groups to provide a youth program, but traditional unity and cohesiveness of rural families has prevented any problem of delinquency such as has developed in cities and war-industry communities throughout the nation. There has been considerable increase in land prices but little land speculation. Noticeable feeling has developed among farmers against the city man's purchase of land. "Land," they say, "belongs to the farmer," and means are discussed of preventing business and professional men from breaking in. The tenancy situation has vastly improved. Banks and loan companies have for the most part liquidated their land holdings. Anxiety symptoms are widely diffused: fear of inflation and of post-war depression; more or less bitterness toward organized

labor; a prevalent note of cynicism. But there are some social assets: though war aims are undefined, "there is a deep-seated moral purpose supporting the war . . . kindness, neighborliness, and a sort of generalized sympathy with the hungry, the oppressed, the unemployed, the homeless. . . . Finally, there is hope in the rapidity with which such programs as soil conservation, rural electrification, and social welfare have emerged from a state of bitter controversy into taken-for-granted, publicly accepted structures in the social organization of the community. . . . New thoughts are stirring, living is speeded up, provincial attitudes are shaken loose. *Striving for a tenable future needs inspiration, planning, and implementation. It needs leadership that can set goals commensurate with the demands of a closely knit, inter-dependent world, and can make concrete the implications of world conditions for the culture and economy of rural Iowa.*"

Cooperation

COOPERATIVES NOW OWN TEN REFINERIES.—With the purchase of the refining plant and facilities of Motor Fuels Corporation at Levelland, Texas, at a cost of more than three quarters of a million dollars, consumer cooperatives now own ten refineries in the United States. The purchase was made possible by an investment of \$440,000 in capital stock in the Consumers Cooperative Refinery Association by 1,500 farmers, other individuals, and cooperative associations. The remainder of the purchase price was financed through a loan from the Houston Bank for Cooperatives. Decision to purchase and operate a refinery cooperatively was an outgrowth of discussion of the importance of maintaining prices of fuel and petroleum products at a level with the cost of farm operation, at the annual meeting of the stockholders of Consumers Cooperatives Associated at Amarillo a year ago.

TO SAVE A LOCAL ENTERPRISE A FARMERS' COOPERATIVE TAKES OVER.—The complaint is often made that cooperatives crowd out private enterprise. The fact is that often a cooperative steps in to save a business threatened with liquidation. Farragut, Iowa, offers a recent example. Last year it appeared probable that a lumber yard operated for thirty years by a Mr. H. G. Loonan would be liquidated following the death of the owner. The Farmers Cooperative Company, organized in 1917, owning a grain elevator and a coal yard, having had during the years a slow but steady growth, decided to purchase the lumber yard. Under the impetus of the plan for expansion 130 new members were added. As the first year of enlarged operation drew near its close the manager estimated the total volume of sales would reach half a million dollars.

THE COMMON PEOPLE SHOULD CONTROL MONEY.—This they are not now doing. To the contrary, "the small savings banked by the masses are being used to afford big and quick loans to the financial top-notchers of the country," says Fr. W. G. Dwyer, Director of Rural Life in the Diocese of Pembroke, Canada, as quoted in *Social Justice Review* for March. "The investor," he continues, "gets a mere 1½ per cent for his pains. Let the same poor fellow require a loan and he will pay anywhere from 6 to 12 per cent interest. If he should be unfortunate enough to enter the door of some of the personal loan

agencies he may have to pay through the nose to the tune of 50 per cent. What chance has a small business man . . . under these circumstances? Chain stores can put any kind of individual business or even cooperative enterprise out of the running for the simple reason that the banking institutions cheerfully grease their ever grasping paws (the paws of the owners of chain stores)." Solution of the problem, the Canadian priest believes, is in the establishment of credit unions by plain people, which offer "a very definite program for the asking." "The happy part of it all is the moment they put the program in motion they have grasped again the reins of control that will bring back to themselves proper ownership which is the foundation of their liberties. When the people are united in the Credit Union Movement they are once more seated in the saddle. . . . No sacrifice is too great to win economic freedom for the masses and generations to come. This is no time for selfishness nor for bickerings but a common effort must be made to marshal the financial strength of the masses behind a cooperative program for their own economic upbuilding. The common people should control money through credit unions."

COOPERATIVES BREAK A BLACK MARKET.—Account of remarkable achievement in defeating black market operations comes from the International Labor Office in Geneva. It concerns use of cooperatives to ensure equitable distribution of food and clothing in Ceylon. Resulting from a conference in October, 1943, between the Minister of Agriculture, the Civil Defense Commissioner, and the Registrar of Cooperatives a plan was devised for replacing the methods of emergency food distribution previously in use by the expansion of consumers cooperatives. To begin, the city of Colombo was divided into 105 areas in each of which the public was invited to form a cooperative. As an outcome the entire population of 350,000 draw their rations from their own 105 co-op stores. Throughout the island there are now between 4 and 5 thousand co-ops serving 600 thousand members. During the first year of the plan, goods to the amount of 45 million rupees were distributed through the consumer cooperatives.

Labor Concern

CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT.—Labor's demand for a guaranteed annual wage poses an issue that will not down. It promises to be one of the most bitterly contested issues of the post-war and reconversion period. New impetus was recently given by the action of the President in initiating a comprehensive investigation of the whole subject. Through James F. Byrnes, director of the Office of War Mobilization, President Roosevelt has asked OWM's advisory board to investigate proposals for a guaranteed wage system. He has also made public a report from the WLB which said that the search for a guaranteed annual wage "is a part of the search for continuity of employment, which is perhaps the most vital economic and social objective in our times." Demand for a wage guarantee system was laid before the WLB by the Steel Workers Union in its recent wage case. Members of the OWM sub-committee which have launched the inquiry include Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; Philip Murray, president of CIO; Albert Goss, master of the National Grange; and Anna Rosenberg, of the New York State Manpower Commission. After all, when one views the matter objectively, why is not a coal miner or a steel worker as much entitled to an annual wage as a corporation president, a school teacher, or a minister?

WORLD TRADE UNION UNITY.—The press in general has had little to say about the World Trade Union Conference held in London in February. Nevertheless the resolution of the Conference "to work together for the creation

of a powerful democratic trade union federation at the earliest practicable date," represents significant advance toward world trade union unity. The Conference empowered a committee of forty-one: "To draft a constitution for the world trade union federation" which it is the purpose of the Conference to establish"; (2) to submit it to the labor bodies for approval; (3) to reconvene the world Conference not later than the end of 1945 for the adoption of the final constitution; (4) to name sub-committees, including an administrative committee to exercise the powers of the full committee of forty-one between meetings of the full committee; (5) to convene an emergency world conference if the committee feels that world developments make it necessary; (6) to issue invitations to bodies not represented at London to affiliate with the new organization.

It is of interest to note that the conference committee consists of three members each from the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Russia; one each from Canada, Australia and India; and one from each of the other members of the British Commonwealth. The former enemy nations—Italy, Bulgaria, Finland and Rumania—will have one member each, and the exiled Spanish labor movement will have one. The American representatives are Philip Murray, president CIO; R. J. Thomas, president United Auto Workers, and Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

LOWEST PAID WORKERS AIDED SLIGHTLY.—The recent War Labor Board ruling which permits an increase in minimum wages of five cents an hour to 55 cents, it is estimated, will affect as many as four million workers. Labor members of the Board contended for a "floor" of 72 cents, declaring with no little justification that anything less, under present living costs, is a starvation wage. Regional labor boards are now in process of considering requests for application of the 55-cent minimum.

DECLINE IN TIME LOST THROUGH STRIKES.—Contrary to general impression created by the press, time lost through strikes in the Michigan auto industry, according to testimony of President R. J. Thomas of the CIO Auto Workers Union before the Mead Senate Investigating Committee, has declined from a figure of 1.14 per cent during 1939-41 to only .26 per cent during 1942-43. Furthermore, Mr. Thomas declared, of strikes which have occurred, the bulk have taken place in plants where management policies have sought deliberately to provoke such stoppages."

"I can explain," he said, "recent actions of the Chrysler and Briggs Corporations only as direct attempts to inspire work stoppages among their employees. No management could have been naïve enough to doubt that the wholesale discharge of union committeemen and workers in the manner chosen could have had any effect other than the promotion of industrial strife."

SOUTHERN LABOR FINDS A FRIEND.—The notorious "Christian American Association" is sponsoring in several southern states a so-called "freedom to work" amendment to the state constitutions—designed to smash unions. In Georgia, a few weeks ago, the special constitution committee of the Lower House reported out the amendment favorably. Whereupon Georgia's progressive Governor, Ellis Arnall, came to bat. He announced publicly that if the Legislature seriously intended to favor the amendment he would sponsor the following substitute: "The right to work under pleasant and healthful conditions shall be guaranteed all citizens of Georgia, irrespective of race, color, creed, nationality, religion, or labor affiliation." Rudely jolted, the banker advocate of the phony amendment asked unanimous consent to withdraw the "freedom to work" bill, which was granted.

Notes on Significant Recent Books

Recently published in England is a small book, worthy of serious consideration, bearing the title, *The Economic Consequences of the Church*.¹ The author represents an unusual combination—a parish minister who is also a graduate in economics (The London School of Economics). A starting point of his discussion is that wherever a Christian goes, the Holy Catholic Church goes in his person; wherever a Christian director or manager or employee intervenes in industry, the Church intervenes. “Consequently, what the demand that the Church shall *not* intervene in economic affairs amounts to is not that it shall really keep out (which is impossible), but that its members shall be left to do their individual best without any official or explicit guidance from the churches to which they belong . . . a position both cruel and stupid.” Unfortunately, however, when today the ordinary Christian in the midst of an extraordinarily complex social and economic situation is faced with various alternative lines of action and turns to the official counsel of the Churches, he readily finds a glowing description of the great and glad consummation which, it is declared, is to be, but no practical guidance concerning which of the several roads ahead he should take in order to arrive.

First of all, Mr. Brooks is convinced that the primary way by which the Church must affect the common life is by itself offering a convincing illustration of what a community can and ought to be. “In the purpose of God the Church is a pattern in the world of true life and true community. What is it in fact? In practice the nearest pub may well betray more signs of true community than the nearest church. . . . The churches cannot expect to extend the rule of Christ in the economic affairs of the world except when they suffer Him to rule in His own house, the Church.” We cannot derive from the Bible political and economic policies adapted to the present-day situation, but we can and we must judge any social or economic order by the degree to which it makes difficult or impossible the kind of life human beings ought to live. We know what that kind of life is. The Church is obligated, therefore, to oppose any system which hinders men from being Christian in their every-day relationships with other people.

With these general principles as criteria of judgment, Mr. Brooks proceeds to discuss three economic systems: “controlled capitalism”; “moral socialism”; and “class socialism” or Marxism. By “controlled capitalism” he means the new order proposed by the Prime Minister in which Government undertakes to control and direct the economic machine but permits private, profit-making concerns to choose between the options or courses of action left open by Government. Granting that this would be an improvement on the economic warfare, or economic anarchy, of the past, will it give men opportunity to live as responsible persons before God? He holds that it will not. It will leave the employee in the position of knowing himself answerable to God for the consequences of his actions and yet given no share in the decision of what those actions and consequences shall be. It will deliver neither the Christian manager nor the Christian director from his most difficult questions of conscience connected with his diverse loyalties to the shareholders, the employees, and the consuming public. “It is a system in which no one is conscious of being finally responsible for the policy of the largest and most important industrial units. The worker can shift his responsibility to the manager. The managers can shift it to the shareholders. The shareholders don’t know they have got it and are totally incapable of meeting it.”

As for “moral socialism” and “class socialism,” the author finds much to commend in both; considers either preferable

to “controlled capitalism”; but does not unqualifiedly commend either in the form set forth by Richard Acland as sponsor for the first, or John Strachey as an advocate of the second (Strachey, *The Theory and Practice of Socialism*). The world, as Acland’s Commonwealth Party would have it, would bear “a stronger resemblance to the redeemed community of the Church” than does the present-day world. Hesitancy in unreserved commendation arises from the fact that as things are at present “economic power, though irresponsible, is still somewhat diffused. We dare not replace it by concentrated political power unless we believe that there is sufficient wisdom and energy in the land to exclude from power those who would use it oppressively. . . .” On the whole, while the author finds some basis for criticism in Marxist socialism as a social economic order, he apparently regards it as most likely of the three systems to afford men opportunity to live responsibly before God in their daily work.

In *England in the Eighteen-Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom*,¹ Helen Merrell Lynd, co-author with her husband of *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, views a significant transitional decade in English history through the eyes of a thorough student sympathetic with, if not an acknowledged advocate of, Christian socialism. One wonders whether her characterization of the decade may not apply to the period immediately ahead in America: “As some periods of history show rapid changes in inventions or technological advance, so in others changes in thought and social attitudes become suddenly apparent. The decade of the Eighties in England was such a time; between its beginning and its close, an ideology half a century old yielded to a new phrasing of social problems and an effort to find new paths to their solution. England, from James Mill to Herbert Spencer, thought it had mastered the conditions of freedom by defining them negatively. England in the Eighties was facing the problem of how to create positive conditions of freedom as we must face it today.”

Of special concern to readers of the BULLETIN is the chapter on “Religion.” “The main effort of the Catholic Church was directed toward conquering individual sin by individual virtue rather than toward changing social conditions. As compared with the Church of England, the Roman Church has a clearer line of thought and action, both positive and negative. . . . The Anglican Church . . . presents a much more complicated picture than the Catholic Church in England. . . . It was the State Church. Unlike both Catholics and nonconformists, it had enormous vested interests in material prosperity and in established institutions. . . . Many Englishmen saw the Church only as a citadel of wealth and power.” Protests of socially concerned leaders were directed not only against the bishops and other higher clergy with their immense incomes; “easy-going parsons” had in general a worse reputation for indifference to social conditions and excessive deference toward wealth. But there were notable individual exceptions—such men as Stewart Headlam, Canon Barnett (concerning whom the *Official Yearbook of the Church of England* said: “. . . we can appreciate his motives while we cannot applaud his modes of action.”), and Bishop Westcott, who insisted that no kind of religious faith can take the place of knowledge of social facts.

Mrs. Lynd quotes, apparently with approval, the statement of Harold Rogers in his study of British economic development: “I do not believe the mass of peasants could have been moved at all if it had not been for the organization of the Methodist Church,” and of Threlfall, Secretary of the Labour Elector Association, that “of the delegates attending the great miners’ conferences when three to four thousand men were represented it is no exaggeration to say that fully one-

¹ Independent Press, London, 1944.

¹ Oxford University Press, New York, 1945.

half had served apprenticeship as local preachers." "The Methodist Church in England," she says, "was a striking example of 'democratic centralism,' and as such a training ground for both laymen and clergy in the practice of democracy."

Limitations to Social Effectiveness

(Continued from page 2)

socio-economic policy and program. Effective social action presupposes a theological education in which social engineering and administration is as basic as theological interpretation, and important as that is.

Limitations are not objections

In the above discussion only a few of the limitations to effective social action have been outlined. Limitations are not objections. They point to problems to be solved. To the present writer the greatest problem is organizing the local church in such a way that the committed members may function directly with other members across denominational lines and within ecumenical organizations. An ecumenical loyalty will develop as laymen and clergy participate in concrete tasks integrated with a general social program capable of guiding social change.

Federation Chapters¹

The Methodist Federation for Social Service, in addition to individual members, shall have chapters, or branches. New, hitherto ungranted rights shall be granted to chapters meeting certain standards.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE (OR CONFERENCE TERRITORY) CHAPTERS

Annual Conference chapters are encouraged to include, on a fully equal basis, all Federation voting members residing in the particular geographical area involved, regardless of Conference or Jurisdictional lines.

I. NEW RIGHTS

1. Election by the chapter of one member to the Executive Committee of MFSS and of five members to the National Committee with all possible financial help being extended to facilitate the attendance at Executive Committee meetings of the Executive Committee members thus elected.

2. The right to an annual return from membership dues to the chapter of \$1.00 for each non-youth voting member (Regular, Contributing, and Sustaining Members), and of 50¢ for each Youth Member.

II. REQUISITE STANDARD

1. At least 100 active voting members, or an average of one member per local church, whichever is smaller, with representation from all membership groups (ministers, laymen, laywomen, youth).

2. At least two chapter meetings annually (one of them possibly to be in conjunction with the Annual Conference), at each of which meetings some concrete social action will be taken. (For example, sending a letter or postcard or telegram or delegation to local, state, or federal political leaders concerning a pressing matter of legislation; or sending a letter to the press on a particular social issue; or getting a particular resolution before the Annual Conference, etc.) Where, in exceptional instances, it is geographically impossible to hold two annual meetings, the chapter involved must provide, in social education and action, a satisfactory equivalent to the second meeting—through such channels as a more frequently meeting governing committee, provision for smaller district or area meetings within the Conference, or in other ways.

¹ Organizational plan for Federation chapters approved by Executive Committee, March 13, 1945.

3. Provision for democratic election of officers by the chapter members at one designated annual meeting.

4. Selection by the chapter of one person who will correspond regularly with the National Office on behalf of the chapter (giving information concerning problems being faced in the area and ways in which they are being tackled, sharing constructive criticism and suggestions for national program, asking for help from the National Office at particular points where needed, sending reports to the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, etc.).

LOCAL CHAPTERS

Local chapters are encouraged where there are enough Federation members living in smaller geographical areas, making more frequent meetings possible.

I. NEW RIGHT

1. To elect two members to the MFSS National Committee.

II. REQUISITE STANDARD

1. At least 25 members.

2. At least one meeting a month at which social action is taken.

3. Provision for democratic election of officers annually.

4. Selection of a regular correspondent by the local chapter to correspond with the National Office.

Book Review

Democracy Under Pressure, Stuart Chase (Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1945, \$1.00). This volume is the fourth in a series of six exploratory reports on post-war problems being made by Stuart Chase for the Twentieth Century Fund.

If, like this reviewer, you were exposed to economics in college and suffered a severe attack of *ennui* as a result, this will sound like another one of those big, important, but dull propositions about which it would be nice to know something if acquiring said knowledge were not quite so painful. Having opened the book with a maximum pessimism, it is a pleasure to report that, far from being dull, *Democracy Under Pressure* is bright, very readable, even slangy in spots—and profound. In a word, it's good. It is not too much to say that one who fails to read it will find himself ill-prepared for V-Day and its resulting (temporary, we hope) social jitters.

Stuart Chase is neither a Wharton School nor a Labor economist. Wedded neither to Big Business nor to the proletariat (the class struggle is "as old-fashioned as a high-wheel bicycle" to him), he might be classified as the Consumer's man. He has little patience with business when through monopoly it limits production and keeps profits up; with labor when it practices "featherbedding" and exalts its Petrillos to places of power; with government when it promotes a program of artificial scarcity. "*Restriction of output is the one thing a dynamic society cannot long tolerate*," he says. But he has even less patience with so-called "free enterprise"—"*if the idea is every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, the devil in no time at all works right up to the front of the line*." Actually, of course, as he points out, there is no such thing as "free" enterprise, and nobody wants it, not even the National Association of Manufacturers.

Chase finds three "Big" pressure groups operating in Washington—Big Business, lobbying for all it is worth through the NAM and the United States Chamber of Commerce; Big Labor, pressuring via the CIO and AFL; and Big Agriculture, hammering at the harried Representatives through its Farm Bureau Federation. These are the "Me First" boys, all gnawing away at another "Big" entity—Big Government. The Big Three sin equally against the Consumer, who is unorganized and therefore unarmored except for the minimum of protection afforded him by the executive branch of the government. Advertisers can lie to him, labor unions can blackmail him, farmers can starve him, and there isn't much he can do about it.

Yet, "*the Consumer interest is always the public interest. Every American is either a consumer or dead*." One reason

why nobody in the legislative branch of government takes much interest in the Consumer is because congressmen are elected on a geographical basis rather than on a basis of industrial, trade, professional, and wage-earning interests. Is Chase calling for a revival of the medieval guilds, or of Mussolini's "corporative state"? Well, hardly, for he is both thoroughly modern and 100 per cent anti-fascist, but he makes out a good case for such a basis of representation.

Does Chase make a prediction of "Things to Come"? He does, and it is not too hopeful. He sees severe economic depression following V-Day, without the intervening cushion of a mushroom inflation based on a demand for war-scarce items that some economists anticipate. Moreover, "agrological" (farm) unemployment will be added to technological, for "in 1950, according to rough estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the farmers of the nation could duplicate the 1943 record with a 10 per cent further reduction in both manpower and crop land." This means that a "back to the land" movement is out as a possible solution for mass unemployment.

Is there a way out? There is. It is for unions, businessmen, and farmers to apply the "Dollar Watch Formula"—maximum production with low unit profit, and, for labor and the farmer, a concentration on annual income rather than on farm prices or industrial wages. If organized labor, business, and agriculture will identify their own interests with the interest of the public, they can sail through V-Day into a future bright with promise. This means getting behind a program to hold the national income around \$150 billion, and employment around 57,000,000 jobs. There is some hope that this can be achieved, for already business men like Beardsley Ruml and General Electric's David Prince, labor leaders like Walter Reuther and Clinton Golden, and agriculturists like Thad Snow of Missouri and Donald Murphy of *Wallace's Farmer* are working through a National Planning Association toward this end.

"We are sick and tired," says Chase, in conclusion, "of running around in circles wringing our hands because we can produce so much. That is a game for people in a mental hospital, not for civilized men."

Selah. But are we sick enough of it to stop it? Mr. Chase, not overly optimistic, would nevertheless hazard a guess that perhaps we are. I hope he's right.—ALSON J. SMITH.

Federation Activities and Reports

Members of the Federation in the Pacific Northwest Annual Conference, thirty-two in number—twenty-five ministers and seven laymen (of whom two were women)—met for a Federation Conclave in the First Methodist Church, Yakima, Washington, February 6-7. George L. Poor, President of the Conference Federation, presided; Daniel Taylor, Federation Secretary, served as registrar; R. A. Anderson was song leader at the devotional sessions; R. Hubblethwaite, Assistant Pastor of First Church, Yakima, had charge of local arrangements. Mrs. A. L. Tefft, Conference Secretary of Social Relations and Church Activities, WSCS, was an active participant. Expenses of the Conclave were pooled.

Topics and leaders of discussion were selected by an advance poll. Four chosen subjects were considered—each by formal presentation followed by general discussion. Topics and leaders were: (1) "Christian Techniques in Meeting Race Problems," Floyd Schmoie, American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, speaker; John Magee, discussion leader. (2) "How Shall the Church Care for Its Members and Ministers in Old Age?" Stanley Logan, speaker; Elwin Seheyer, discussion leader. (3) "Our Responsibility for the Returning Veteran," P. Malcolm Hammond, speaker; Joseph M. Adams, discussion leader. (4) "Between Victory and Peace: What?" Daniel E. Taylor, speaker; William Twiddy, discussion leader. At the banquet on the first evening Thomas Acheson delivered an address on "Church Policy in the Economic and Social Life of America." At the closing session, William C. Bowman, Superintendent of the Vancouver District, presented a stirring challenge on the theme,

"Does My Personality Strengthen the Kingdom?" Federation members participating in the Conclave were so impressed by its values that they asked for a similar session next year, with the suggestion that Federation groups of adjoining Conferences be invited to take part.—Daniel E. Taylor.

The Michigan and Detroit Annual Conference Social Action Fellowships met in combined session at First Methodist Church, Owosso, February 23. Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary of the Federation, at the opening session gave a brief review of the work of the Federation since its beginning in 1907 and told of plans for the future. He made a fine impression. Questions and discussion indicated a renewed interest in the Federation and its Churchwide program.

Evangelistic opportunities among college students, farmers, laborers, government workers and minority groups, were pointed out by the Rev. Owen M. Geer of Dearborn who told, from practical experience, what was being done in his parish along these lines. Rev. Harold Pailthorp of Howell listed areas of Conference action including: salary increases for underpaid ministers through ministerial sharing; the race problem; and labor-capital relations.

The place of the women in social action was presented by Mrs. F. G. Poole of the Woman's Society, and Robert Ward, Social Action Chairman of the Detroit Conference Youth Council, said youth was ready to enter fields of social activity. The youth of the Detroit Conference led the Annual Conference last June in getting the Conference to welcome the churches of the Central (Negro) Jurisdiction within the bounds of the Detroit Conference to join that Conference. Youth cannot be classified as either liberal or conservative, he said, they just want to aid social progress wherever they can.

In commending the plan of District discussions on social questions in formulating the Moral and Social Reform reports at the Annual Conferences, Dr. Spencer Bacon Owens, superintendent of the Albion-Lansing District, said that such a policy gave opportunity for helpful education on controversial questions. He favored memorializing the next General Conference to abolish the Central Jurisdiction because of its racial segregation. Dr. Sumpter Riley of the Berea Methodist Church of Detroit (Negro) led the evening's worship service at which time Jack R. McMichael gave an inspiring and informing address on the "Ecumenical Aspects of Social Action."

The consensus of the group was that the really big issue facing the future is economic. If jobs cannot be provided and economic security achieved, there is little use talking in idealistic terms about durable peace.

The following day a conference on reconstruction was held under the leadership of the Directors of the Conference Boards of Education, Wayne Fleenor and Fred G. Poole for the Michigan and Detroit Conferences respectively. Those who could stayed over for the second day's meeting in which addresses were given by John E. Marvin, Editor of the *Michigan Advocate*, Professor Wesley Maurer of the University of Michigan, Howard McClusky, assistant to the president of U. of M., Jack R. McMichael, and Professor Royal Hall of Albion College. Dr. McClusky declared that if many people appeared in public in the clothes of the period represented by their social ideas they would be a laughing stock. The fact of togetherness has developed faster than our preparation for it. Only as we can control our capacity for destruction by strengthened desire to work together is there hope for the future. Jack R. McMichael remained over for Sunday to preach in First Church, Owosso, where the Conference was held. In appraising the meetings the Rev. Clifford Doty, the pastor, said, "I cannot speak too highly of this effort to extend to ministers and laymen the aid of the Church toward clear thinking and Christian social action in this time of crisis."—John E. Marvin.